The Nation's Future: *by Carey McWilliams*

THE *Nation*

September 24, 1955
20c

Revolt in Quebec

by Ross Harkness

U. S. SURPLUSES AND WORLD HUNGER

by Mordecai Ezekial

SEP 26 1955
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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Trans-Curtain Trade — *J. A. del Vayo*
Apples of Discord — *Gene Marine*

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Letters

Dishonorable Discharge?

Dear Sirs: I don't really know how to start to tell this story. I am not a writer.

I have lived in Milwaukee since 1918. I am an American citizen. I have three sons, two of whom served in World War II and received honorable discharges. My third son, Robert, enlisted in the air force in 1951. He was due to be discharged on August 27, 1955, but about a week before that he called me and told me the air force officials had questioned him and had classified him as a possible security risk.

I want to point out that my boy Robert never belonged to any kind of political organization in his life. However, I also want to explain why they are trying to punish him. In 1936 I was having a hard time getting food to live. I went to the Workers' Alliance, feeling they might help me. Also, I took out insurance with the International Workers Order a few years later for Robert, who was about ten years old at the time. Since then the I. W. O. insurance business has been taken over by the Continental Insurance Company. My boy Robert never knew anything about the I. W. O. or any other organization. Now the air force is threatening him with a dishonorable discharge. He has a good record in the service and is a loyal citizen.

I am ashamed of what our country is turning into, when innocent people can be punished for something they know nothing about. It's time people in our country knew what was going on.

MRS. MILDRED JONES.

Milwaukee, Wis.

[Since this letter was received, Representative Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin has requested the air force to look into the Jones case.—The Editors.]

Emmett Lewis Till

Dear Sirs: Unless the state of Mississippi acts forthrightly to avenge the kidnapping and murder of fourteen-year-old Emmett Lewis Till and also to guarantee protection of all Americans who happen to be in that state regardless of color, the United States government is morally and legally justified in occupying the state with federal troops. The kidnapping and murder of the Chicago Negro boy is a crime that calls for the gravest consideration by all officials and every citizen.

When President Hayes in April, 1877, ended the military occupation of the rebel states of the South, he did so on the basis of a solemn pledge by Southern leaders that they would grant protection to the Negroes on the same plane as the whites. President Hayes was a man of principle and accepted the pledge of the Southern leaders at face value. He was betrayed by the South. This was a great tragedy in his life, and a greater tragedy for America. The murder of the Chicago boy is testimony that the South must somehow be made to realize that all America expects it to redeem its pledge to President Hayes.

The politicians of both parties have a responsibility for the villainy in Mississippi—Republican leaders who have pretended devotion for civil rights for the Negro in the South, and Democratic leaders who have either remained silent or have cooperated actively in the Southern idea of treating Negro Americans as second-class citizens. The misguided whites who perpetrated the crime were not alone in the guilt. Some of the blood of Emmett Lewis Till is also on the garments of the Byrneses, Talmadges, and Shiverses of the South. There are good people in the South. There are good liberals in the South. There are good Americans in the South. But Governor Byrnes of North Carolina, former Governor Talmadge of Georgia, and Governor Shivers of Texas have been setting the moral and cultural tone of the South and setting it so low that fratricide and homicide are predictable results.

There should be public meetings of protest in every enlightened community, North as well as South, on the murder of the Till boy. We may be sure the Communists will plan such demonstrations. But those of us who have faith in American democracy should not let the Communists take the lead.

HARRY BARNARD.

Chicago, Ill.

World Socialist Movement

Dear Sirs: Professor G. D. H. Cole's article in The Nation (April 23, 1955), together with two articles published in January of this year in The New Statesman and Nation inspired the establishment of a group called provisionally The World Socialist Movement. It is impossible here to go into any detail about its projected aims, or the means it will employ to achieve them. The intention is to make the movement truly democratic and international, which precludes us from dictating aims or means, or insisting upon prescribed standards of orthodoxy, although naturally insisting upon general agreement upon basic principles.

We feel that the sort of organization envisaged by Professor Cole should be formed as soon as possible—the need is unquestionable and the urgency compelling—and primarily its appeal must be worldwide; over the heads of all existing institutions and ideologies that talk in the passive cold-war terms of coexistence instead of the active dynamic terms of cooperation.

I should be very pleased to hear from all those who feel inspired to take an active part in such a movement and who wish to be put in contact with each other. I am writing this letter in my capacity as acting secretary. I can be reached at 11 Spring Street, London W. 2, England.

JOHN H. RODDAM.

London

Paperbacks

Dear Sirs: The reviews and article on paperbacks in your August 27 issue were very interesting. With one hour each day spent in commuting to and from work, I have found these small books easy to carry as well as economical. Recent "finds" included "Modern Art" by Reade, and "Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry" by Maritain.

I hope you will have more reviews on the paperbacks—they are much better reading than the Chicago Tribune!

BONITA HEFT.

Chicago, Ill.

The New Radicalism

Dear Sirs: Many sincere thanks for the publication of Waldo Frank's profound—if not always clear—article on Toward a New Radicalism in the September 3 issue. Certainly a new radicalism is being born. The old liberalism is bankrupt. It doesn't ask the right questions and consequently doesn't give the right answers. We are in the midst of a crisis that is far more significant than our political difficulties. To throw light upon this crisis is today the primary duty of the new radicals (many of whom would repudiate the label). To quote Mr. Frank: "This is certain: the old words, such as God, self, state, revelation, knowledge, faith, must be redefined—if we retain them." Truly, a formidable enterprise. How much agreement and cooperation can we expect from the "conscious" and "unconscious" radicals? Not much, I fear, but solid contributions like Mr. Frank's are invaluable.

We do not look for the old-fash-

(Continued on page 272)

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Nation's Future . . . *by Carey McWilliams*

DOWN THE years responsibility for the direction of *The Nation* has changed hands from time to time—in the 1930's it was sold twice within two years—but for long reaches of its history, ownership and management remained unaltered. Which is not to say that *The Nation* itself has been impervious to change. It changed radically when Oswald Garrison Villard became editor and no less radically when Freda Kirchwey succeeded him. Under Villard, *The Nation* ceased to be the largely literary journal it had become and dealt increasingly with social, economic, and political issues. With Freda Kirchwey's editorship, the rise of fascism and the sharp conflicts that came with the New Deal brought marked shifts in emphasis and direction. Despite all this, *The Nation* has managed to remain *The Nation*. Here is not, perhaps, so much another paradox of "permanence and change" as a reflection of the continuing influence of *The Nation's* tradition on succeeding editors. The 181 bound volumes of this magazine are more than a source of pride to the staff: they have a definite relevance to its future. They provide a touchstone, a guide, and, above all, a challenge to those who from time to time find themselves responsible for its management and direction. As a staff member for one decade and an occasional contributor for two before that, it should be fairly obvious that I honor the tradition of *The Nation* and intend to maintain it—come hell or high water.

Nevertheless, *The Nation* must change, as it has changed in the past, if only to encompass certain harsh realities of present-day American journalism. The constitutional guarantee of a free press finds justification in the obligation of the press to enlighten the people about their current affairs. But as Robert M. Hutchins has sourly observed, the great continuing debate which the framers of the First Amendment envisaged has in our time become a soliloquy. Within the last forty years, one-third of our daily newspapers and more than three thousand weeklies have ceased publication; at the moment ninety-four American cities are without competing papers. The same concentration of control appears elsewhere. In radio, one-fifth of the stations are interlocked with newspapers; four networks dominate national radio; less than two dozen advertisers account for 50 per cent of network income.

As the number of competing dailies and weeklies declines, the responsibility of the remaining independent publications increases. Today only a handful of national publications have been able to maintain complete freedom from business-office pressures in the face of steeply rising costs. Now more than ever before it becomes their special responsibility to report the significant happening that might otherwise go unreported, to air unpopular views and controversial issues, and, by careful selection and emphasis, to prevent the decisive considerations from being buried in an avalanche of irrelevant information. In these respects, *The Nation* is more urgently needed today than at any time in its history and, by the same token, its prospects were never brighter. For the same processes that have furthered and will continue to further monopoly control of the general press have created something very much like a monopoly for us. Never inclined to defy providence, we intend to exploit this opportunity to the fullest extent. In the future *The Nation* will devote even more space than it has in the past to unreported news of all kinds, local, national, and international. An independent national weekly is *not* the answer to the problem of a one-party press but it is part of the answer.

EVEN if *The Nation's* editors were inclined to evade the special responsibilities which new circumstances have imposed, its readers would not permit them to do so. These readers, as I can testify, are a special lot. One of the reasons why *The Nation,* with a small staff, has been able to provide a coverage of national affairs that publications with much larger staffs might envy is that its correspondents are about as numerous as its readers. *Nation* readers, moreover, are strategically well distributed, geographically and socially, vertically and horizontally. Despite an amazing range of differences of all sorts—racial, ethnic, religious, social, economic—they are alike in that they insist on doing their own thinking. No captive audience, this, but a live, responsive, critical, and exceptionally well-informed readership. With Brandies, our readers realize that "periodic, spasmodic indignation at wrong" is not enough; at the same time they would not want to see any wrong go unreported.

In the future as in the past *The Nation* will be consciously addressed to a special audience. It is an educated, intelligent audience, anxious to get the real facts, intensely interested in the free discussion of ideas on their merits, highly allergic to special pleading,

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propaganda, and double-talk. Readers of this kind are a permanent minority in any society. But they are more numerous in the America of today than they were thirty years ago, surface appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. Indeed, today's pressures for conformity are a measure of the respect reaction feels for their growing influence. Their ranks are swollen by those who are bored with most aspects of the mass media of communication. Here, too, is an opportunity which we intend to exploit. At the same time we hope to add recruits to the minority of independent liberals and give to American liberalism a new coherence and strength, thereby extending both their influence and our own. In neither case is influence a matter of numbers. By any reckoning the London *Economist* is one of the most influential journals in the world, yet its total circulation probably does not exceed 50,000. Editorial influence is a function not of mass but of quality. In much the same sense, the influence of an intellectual minority cannot be measured by counting noses; the thinking of this minority determines, in the caption of our editorial section, "the shape of things" to come.

THE intellectual needs and interests, always varied, always changing, of this selective minority necessarily determine *The Nation's* content and coverage. For example, a publication addressed to such an audience does not need to "present both sides" of a question unless it is one on which the audience itself is sharply divided; its readers demand critical evaluations and the kind of reporting that winds up with a conclusion. Besides which, radio and television newscasts, as well as the availability of national news weeklies that provide excellently organized summaries of most major news items, have to some extent relieved publications like *The Nation* of a function which once was theirs, namely, of summarizing news developments. The mass media themselves, in turn, have become a major subject of critical attention. Science is another growing interest among the readers we hope to reach.

These new interests, reading habits, needs, and outlooks will determine the changes in content and coverage which readers the *The Nation* will note in the weeks to come. For a reason once suggested by Cyril Connolly I am reluctant to spell these changes out in detail. As I remember, Connolly once said that everyone has been victimized at one time or another by three persistent illusions: falling in love, starting a magazine, and the notion that one can make a living by keeping chickens. Projecting blueprints for magazines, to be and in being, is an occupational disease of editors; better that the changes should appear without announcement, fanfare, or forecast. But a few comments may not be indiscreet. In the last few years, for example, the "back-of-the-book" section has been severely curtailed. As rapidly as circumstances permit this section of the magazine will be enlarged, with more space given to books, music, art, theater, films, records, and also to radio and television. More space, too, will be

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found for letters and communications. Developments at the United Nations and in Washington will be followed more systematically than we have been able to do in recent years.

NOW that Freda Kirchwey has been relieved of the publisher's burdens, she will be able to contribute more frequently to the editorial section than she has in the recent past. If ever an editor-publisher was entitled to surcease from the harassing responsibilities of management, Freda Kirchwey is that person. With courage, skill, and remarkable resourcefulness she has safely piloted *The Nation* through some of the stormiest years in its, and the nation's, history. During this period she has repeatedly had to withstand pressures that might well have broken the resistance of a batallion of stout-hearted editors. Everyone admires Freda Kirchwey's moral courage and intellectual integrity but only those who have worked with her on a day-to-day basis can properly appreciate the patience, good humor, and imperturbable confidence with which she has faced, and surmounted, the crises that have arisen under her editorship. Her devotion to *The Nation,* her faith in it, and her unshakable determination that it should survive, have moved mountains and worked miracles.

For most of the period of her editorship Miss Kirchwey enjoyed the able assistance of Lillie Shultz as director of activities for the Nation Associates. Like Miss Kirchwey, Lillie Shultz has earned surcease from a heavy burden of care and responsibilities. Taking over as director in 1944, Miss Shultz made the Nation Associates a potent influence in American liberalism and a valuable aid to *The Nation*. Under her direction, the educational conferences of the Nation Associates were memorable affairs—"America's Opportunity to Create and Maintain Lasting Peace" (1944), "The Challenge of the Atomic Bomb" (1945), "The Challenge of the Post-War World to the Liberal Movement" (Los Angeles, 1946), "The Palestine Problem and Its Relation to Peace" (1947), "The Atomic Era: Can It Produce Peace and Abundance?" (1950), "Freedom's Stake in the Middle East and North Africa" (1952), "Atoms for Peace" (1955). The immensely effective role that the Nation Associates played in the debate on Palestine before the United Nations and, in San Francisco in 1945, and later at the United Nations in New York, on the Spanish issue, was a reflection, also, of Miss Shultz's organizing drive and shrewd political judgment. Her services to *The Nation* cannot be adequately acknowledged in a brief note but they have been invaluable.

Changes in *The Nation's* editorship seem to have taken place, not too surprisingly, at key junctures in American life. Oswald Garrison Villard became editor during the last year of World War I—to face the fateful months of treaty-making, the revolutionary upheavals in Europe, the years of post-war corruption and reckless expansion, the predestined plunge into economic depression. Freda Kirchwey became editor in the middle of the depression decade—with the shadow of European fascism extending across the Atlantic, with Roosevelt battling for the New Deal reforms and collective security, with war in Spain and a new world war just over the horizon. This year, too, marks a watershed of a sort—the cold war shows signs of abating, the witch hunt is less frenzied, the atomic era was formally inaugurated at Geneva, domestic, social, and economic issues have taken on new dimensions, a "revolution of rising expectations" has everywhere inspired in people a new confidence in their ability to manage their affairs, while the achievements of science have given substance to the belief. The century of ideologies is about over. As David Thomson pointed out in our issue of September 10, the key to the politics of the future is to be found in "a more rational and effective democracy, linked to the actualist methods and spirit of science." American liberalism is emerging from a partial eclipse and should be the stronger for the experience of the last decade. Thus the general omens are good. With George G. Kirstein, I feel that the opportunity to achieve the long-sought goal of rescuing *The Nation* from the class of so-called "deficit publications" was never better and I share his feeling, too, that only by making the publication self-supporting—although it will not be that for some time—can we safeguard its future.

Not only are the political weather signs favorable, but we start with a clean slate. As readers will note from page 272 of this issue, a stipulation has been signed for the dismissal of the libel action which Nation Associates, Inc., brought against the *New Leader* in 1951. Negotiations to this end were initiated some months before the present reorganization of *The Nation* was even contemplated; the new management is glad the action has been dismissed by agreement of both parties.

It has been said that the only way American liberals can live in the present without repudiating the past is to believe in the future. *The Nation* is proud of its past and confident of the future. One of its best friends, the late Henry W. Nevinson, adopted for his motto words which *Nation* editors have appropriated on an occasion similar to this in the past and which is still a good motto for us in the years ahead: "The older, the bolder."

IN NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

Edward Hallett Carr will analyze the structure of Soviet society.

Has the Soviet Union developed a "bourgeois" ruling class? Is there a parallel between today's U. S. S. R. and Victorian England? These are some of the questions to be discussed by the author of the widely acclaimed "A History of the Soviet Union," of which the fourth volume—"The Interregnum: 1923-24"—was published earlier this year.

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TRANS-CURTAIN TRADE

Politics the Obstacle . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

THE WORLD cannot live forever on the "spirit" of Geneva; something is needed to give the *detente* real content. Indeed, the need grows increasingly urgent, for even the Geneva spirit shows unhappy signs of mortality—witness Vice-President Nixon's tough speech on coexistence before the Philadelphia Bar Association and the tart reaction of the Soviet press. Yet the possibilities for substituting the substance for the shadow of agreement are limited. The disarmament talks in the U. N., while they have shown progress, have also shown that agreement in this field is still far off. Adenauer's visit to Moscow has done nothing to make the solution of the German problem any easier. There is, indeed, only one issue which promises fruitful and quick progress—the development of East-West trade. Here the desire to consolidate the *detente* must be coupled with Europe's interest in cutting down its economic dependence on the United States.

Let us take the case of England, for example, which in a way typifies all countries outside the dollar area. Prime Minister Eden, while emphasizing his government's determination to take all necessary steps "to insure the health and stability of our economy," did not hesitate to admit that "we are not, in fact, paying our way." The warning naturally provoked widespread discussion in the British press and radio, particularly in view of the Conservative Party's radiant optimism concerning the British economy during the last electoral campaign. Some observers have sought to find the explanation for Britain's difficulties in terms of low productivity; West Germany, for instance, shows a 6.5 per cent increase in man-hour output compared to Britain's 2.5 per cent. Others point to the vicissitudes of foreign trade, pointing out that while big British firms can survive such things as the tariff increase imposed by the United States on the import of bicycles, smaller firms find themselves hard-hit. Still others, fearing that Britain is heading for a trade Dunkirk, note the manner in which the German *Volkswagen* has replaced the British MG and Jaguar as the best-selling foreign car in the United States. Many British critics term their country's whole approach to foreign trade as "obsolete and unimaginative."

Yet there is perhaps a more fundamental reason for the country's troubles—the fact that it is buying in the United States rather than in Eastern Europe. The fact is stressed in the recently published United Nations Economic Bulletin for Europe (Vol. 7, No. 2). The bulletin's statistics show that Western Europe's tremendous increase in imports from the dollar area has been accompanied by only a small rise in exports. "The gap between dollar imports and dollar exports," the bulletin comments, "has therefore grown very considerably." In the United Kingdom the dollar gap rose from 40 to 60 per cent between the first quarter of 1954 and the same period this year.

Six weeks ago, during the last session of the Economic and Social Council here, I heard European delegates complain that the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was dominated by pro-Americans. In this connection, I quote again from the U. N. bulletin:

> . . . The OEEC decided that henceforth 75 per cent of European Payment Union's surpluses and deficits would have to be settled in gold and dollars. This will inevitably reduce the incentive to buy in European Payment Union countries rather than in the dollar area, but while such diversion of imports to the dollar area may seem advantageous for any single country, on account of lower import prices, the net result may well be to limit the growth of trade among the European Payment Union countries themselves.

This American commercial strategy naturally hinders the development of East-West trade, one of the objectives agreed upon by the Big Four at Geneva. The U. N. bulletin is very clear on this point: ". . . The longer-run benefits of dollar liberalization are much more questionable in the case of foodstuffs and raw materials, which have been previously imported mainly from the less-developed countries in Europe and overseas." The implication is clear that it would be in the interest of Western Europe to resume its trade with the countries of the Soviet bloc.

WRITING in the New York *Herald Tribune* of August 23, Marguerite Higgins pointed out that American proponents of rigid trade controls were worried about the pressures being exerted in the opposite direction by important financial men who hold high positions in the Eisenhower Administration. Indeed, many American business representatives with whom I have spoken here have told me that their colleagues at home are increasingly interested in East-West trade. On August 31, the *Wall Street Journal* said:

> If the Russians continue reasonable, even without giving much ground on such crucial questions as German unification, the State Department looks for more difficulties on an already troublesome front—Western trade controls against the East. Already there are clear signs that merchants in France, Britain, and other European countries, as well as in Japan, are putting their governments under heavy pressure to relax controls on shipments of strategic materials such as machine tools to the Soviet bloc and Red China.

But as Marguerite Higgins has pointed out, "Inside the United States Government the most determined opposition to any substantial relaxation of trade controls comes from the State Department and from the Pentagon."

East-West trade has nevertheless been increasing somewhat. East European exports to the West have increased 35 per cent in the last

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quarter in comparison to a similar period last year, while Western imports from Eastern Europe have increased 6 per cent. The most recent report to Congress on the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951—the Battle act—showed that from 1953 to 1954 Western Europe increased its exports to Eastern Europe by 24 per cent and its imports from the same area by 6 per cent.

The Soviet bloc, which maintains the position that there would be more trade if there were less politics, is pushing the issue energetically and with some success. Moscow is playing host to innumerable groups of foreign industrialists and business men. Bonn sees great possibilities in Eastern markets for disposing of their increased production (West Germany produced 16.4 per cent more goods in first quarter of this year than during the comparable period last year). The massive Thyssen works, only a few years ago a bombed-out shell, now looks forward to regaining its position as the continent's largest steel plant, and is counting on Eastern markets—including China—to help consume its anticipated annual production of 2.4 million tons of steel.

THE pro-Americans among the West Germans insist that their country's trade with the East could never be more than "marginal" and therefore not of great importance. But many German industrialists reject this thesis and have found support in the influential Frankfurt economic journal *Volkswirt,* which voiced approval of the Soviet leaders' plan to "reorganize and rationalize" Russian industry in order to "catch up with the West." Moreover, many Germans argue that Bonn has reached the limits of trade with certain Western countries and *must* look elsewhere for markets.

The Communist nations now include about 38 per cent of the world's population—about 924,000,000 people as against 1,524,000,000 in the non-Communist areas. And today India with its 367,000,000 people, Burma with its 19,000,000, and Yugoslavia with its nearly 17,000,000 can no longer be counted on for solidarity with the capitalist world. It is doubtful that a West hungry for new markets can long withstand the demand of so many hundreds of millions of people for more goods.

REVOLT IN QUEBEC

French Canada's Crisis . . . *by Ross Harkness*

Toronto

WHAT MAY prove to be the most important social upheaval on this continent since the Mexican revolution is taking place in Canada's French-language province of Quebec. It is a twentieth-century renaissance that is shaking the one-time colony of New France to its foundations.

There is not an element of French-Canadian life that has escaped, but nowhere has the ferment had a more disturbing effect than on education and the church. Men whose Catholicism is unquestioned are defying their priests, priests are defying their bishops, and bishops are defying each other as the people who dream of a reborn Quebec and those who want things to remain as they always were strive for the soul of French Canada.

Universities such as famous old Laval, founded in 1663 by the first Bishop of Quebec, have sacrificed government grants in order to fight for social justice and teach what they believe are social truths. University professors are defying attempts by the reactionary government of Premier Maurice Duplessis to gag them, and are working for window-washer's wages so that academic freedom may not perish in the province. Burning-eyed young intellectuals are recklessly courting martyrdom in the labor movement. Many of them have been beaten up by Duplessis's kept police and imprisoned by his suborned courts, and they glory in their persecution by the provincial regime.

Novelists are writing books they would not have dared write five years ago. Canada's only native theater is producing drama in Quebec that ranks with France's best. French-language television programs make English-Canadian television seem amateurish. Architecture, particularly that of churches and public buildings, has been purified and cleansed, without becoming faddish or "modernistic." Commerce, finance, industry, and science, once occupations scorned as fit only for *primitives,* have become honored callings in which French Canadians are challenging English-Canadian supremacy.

FOR ALMOST two centuries after the British conquest Quebec lived behind a spiritual and intellectual iron curtain dropped by the ecclesiastics who controlled the colony's thinking and who sought to protect the simple *habitant* from the moral contamination of Anglo-Saxon heresy and materialism. In this they had the enthusiastic support of British colonial administrators who conceived a "divide and rule" policy in Canada as the best insurance against what Pitt called the danger of "another great Anglo-Saxon schism" like that of '76.

Only rural life was considered admirable, and clergy and intellectuals alike fought industrialization. When farm areas became overpopulated, priests led tragic migrations of their simple followers into the northern rocks and forests, there to live in log cabins and eke a meager existence from the barren soil. Their souls were safer than in the cities, whatever the estate of their bodies. Education was the exclusive domain of the church, from primary school

ROSS HARKNESS is an editorial writer for the Toronto Star.

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through university. Graduates of the classical colleges, which correspond to our secondary schools, could converse fluently in Latin, write Greek with ease, and were learned in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, but knew little else. Universities offered courses only in medicine, law, and theology. Science was ignored. It was dangerous, for it led to questioning of divine laws.

Then came the war with its consequent upheavals, and with jarring suddenness Quebec was jerked into the twentieth century. Hundreds of thousands migrated to the cities to work in the burgeoning new war factories, and industrialization continued at breakneck pace after the war. Young French Canadians who had never been more than ten miles from their farm homes were enrolled in the army and sent for training to Ontario and elsewhere in English Canada, and a wonderful new world whose existence they never suspected unfolded before their dazzled eyes.

Like young Marco Polos they returned home with wondrous stories to amaze their parents, and with a deep discontent at the prevailing order in Quebec. Soon Quebec students were enrolling in English-language universities like the University of Toronto, even in "foreign" universities like Harvard and Chicago, eagerly drinking of a culture so new to them, so old to us, and carrying their new knowledge back to Quebec. English Canada and the United States, which they had been taught were vulgar lands inhabited by barbarians whose chief aim in life was to deprive them of their language and religion, they found to be friendly, hospitable, and civilized.

WITHIN the church the struggle between the "progressives" and the old guard is bitter, but it is seldom permitted to appear above the surface. On the one side are the younger clergy, particularly the priests in urban parishes, the lay intellectuals, and urban workers. On the other side are most of the hierarchy, the older rural priests, and some business men.

"The church is experiencing a reformation similar to the counter-reformation which followed the Protestant reformation in Europe, with the difference that this time it is not coming too late," a prominent Catholic ecclesiastic told me. "The church is in need of reform; it is better the reform should come voluntarily from within than be imposed from without," remarked a Montreal journalist. "I am a protestant, but a protestant within the Roman Catholic church," a professional man explained.

Both laymen and clergy agree that the influence of Protestantism is considerable. A prominent lay Catholic told me that four years ago he was asked by a semi-religious review to write an article on "The Changing Psychology of the Church." In his essay he attributed much of the change in outlook to the influence of Quebec students who, emerging from their isolation to study in English-language universities, were exposed for the first time to Protestantism. They learned what a vital and dynamic force it is, and the extent to which it has molded American civilization. The article was returned to him as too "dangerous" to publish. A few months ago he was asked to resubmit it. Expression of such opinions is no longer considered dangerous in Quebec.

"We had been taught that the world was no more than the anteroom to heaven, that we must dwell only on spiritual things, that ambition was vain, and to crave worldly success was a sin," a Catholic college professor remarked. "The Protestant belief is that worldly success is a reward of Providence to be sought after. Because of this difference in our attitudes we lagged behind English Canada in material progress. Now we are teaching that God gave us our talents, whatever they are, to be used."

The religious reformation has had its effect on church architecture. The new churches are unostentatious, warm, and simple. Only by a life-sized crucifix over the altar and the stations of the cross on the wall can some of them be distinguished from a Protestant church. Even the patron saint of the parish may be represented only by a stylized head above the main entrance.

THAT the assault on old habits and beliefs resulted in renaissance rather than collapse was due in large measure to reforms in education that had their feeble beginnings in the 1920's. Nationalism was then the rage, but some of the younger men thought it rather a poor sort of nationalism that would keep the French Canadian in ignorance, doomed forever to be the hewer of wood for English Canadians. In the face of considerable opposition they persuaded the government to establish some technical and vocational high schools.

At the same time the study of English was introduced in the third grade of the elementary schools in the hope it would open the way to advancement of French Canadians in the business world, then strictly an English preserve. Today it is estimated that about a third of the residents of Quebec can speak English, while another third can read it with reasonable fluency. This has opened the door to the whole field of English literature, but what is even more important it has made English-language magazines and newspapers available. A result has been the breaking down of prejudices between English and French Canadians, and a new unity in the country.

Following the establishment of technical high schools, Laval and Montreal Universities introduced courses in science and engineering. Later Laval established a faculty of social sciences. Laval is a Pontifical college, under the control of the Archdiocese of Quebec, and most of its teaching staff are priests. Its faculty of social sciences based its teachings on the social encyclicals of the Popes, but its interpretation of them was so radical that before long it was being branded as a hotbed of communism. In an attempt to bring it into line, the Duplessis government stopped its grants. Since about half the French-language clergy pass through Laval or a Laval-affiliated

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classical college, there developed by the end of the war a numerous and cohesive corps of young priests who were convinced that the social order was all wrong and who believed they knew how to correct it.

It is in the field of industrial relations that Quebec is facing its most serious crisis. Until recently the 100,000-member Confederation des Travailleurs Catholique de Quebec has dominated the labor field. The Catholic unions, or syndicates as they are commonly called, had their beginnings in 1901 but remained feeble and neglected until the war-inspired industrial boom. Then suddenly management awoke to their possibilities as "company unions" to stave off the aggressive organizing of the big international unions. They proved God's gift to management. They stressed the duty of worker to employer. To strike was a sin. To be militant was wicked. To yearn for higher wages was un-Christian. Their chaplain, usually the parish priest, had an absolute veto under their constitution. But best of all, it was the workers' Christian duty to join them. Employers fell over themselves in the rush to sign contracts before the international unions could move in.

THEN THE unexpected happened. Zealous young university graduates, most of them from Laval, seized control. They did so by having their own men rather than parish priests appointed chaplains. They didn't know much about trade-union tactics, or for that matter about trade-union economics, but they were afire to set right the world's social problems.

The Catholic unions entered their militant phase with the 1949 strike in the United States-controlled asbestos industry. They had no strike fund but nearly every parish in the province held bazaars and bingo games for the strikers, and they won. Since 1949 they have been almost continuously embroiled in strikes, most of them ill-considered and unnecessary. Where an Anglo-Saxon labor leader would have compromised with management and awaited another day, the young Gallic-French idealists wouldn't compromise. They frightened the more responsible elements in the community with attacks on the capitalist system, which they equated with

Premier Duplessis

foreign or English-Canadian control of industry. Where once they had talked of reforming the existing social order along the lines of the Papal encyclicals, now they were preaching the necessity of totally destroying the present system and of building a fine new order on the ruins of the old.

To Premier Duplessis and the hierarchy this sounded suspiciously like communism. Church leaders who had inveighed in years past against "neutral" unions began to suspect that an international union headed by a Catholic and conservative French Canadian, as is the Canadian Congress of Labor (A. F. of L.), was to be preferred to a Catholic union headed by firebrands. In time most of the church hierarchy, the provincial government, industry, and the international unions were arrayed against the syndicate leaders who at the same time lost the support of the workers because they talked too much about social justice and not enough about hours and wages.

Today the Catholic unions are at bay. A showdown was inevitable, and by a sort of common consent the workers in the paper mills of the St. Maurice River valley were the pawns. In the middle of negotiations for a new contract, management announced it was putting its offer into immediate effect. The unions accused management of bad faith in doing so and went on strike the next day, an illegal strike under the Quebec labor code. Events followed a fantastic course that would be incredible outside Quebec. When Duplessis threatened to decertify the union, it promptly mailed him its certificate. When he threatened to jail union leaders for calling an illegal strike, the workers formally resigned en masse from their jobs. By their reasoning that made it no longer a strike. The courts agreed and issued an injunction against picketing. Whereupon wives and children took the strikers' place, pregnant women lining up and defying police to treat them roughly. When union organizer Michel Chartrand told the women to go home he was fined and jailed for attending an illegal assembly. Other union executives were hauled into court and put under $200 bond to keep the peace for two years, a ruse to prevent them from engaging in union activity. Provincial police sent tape recordings of the speeches of labor priests to the Bishop of Three Rivers and several were hauled upon the ecclesiastical carpet.

MEANWHILE organizers of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphate, and Paper Mill Workers (A. F. of L.) were busily persuading strikers to desert their syndicates and return to work. About two-thirds of them have done so, so the strike may be considered lost. Its loss may signal the beginning of the end for the Catholic unions. But if the syndicates disappear, what will become of their leaders? Recently the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Canadian Socialist party, changed its name in Quebec to the Social Democratic Party in what has been interpreted as a bid for the enlistment of these frustrated young idealists. There are some, also, who wonder if Quebec's revolution will follow the classical course of such upheavals—started by moderates, taken over by intellectual idealists, finished by the sort of men who believe heads should roll. Already there have been bombings and dynamitings in the St. Maurice valley.

"Quebec is in the eye of the hurricane right now," an editor friend said. "For the moment there is calm, but tremendous forces are building up. Terrible things may happen if they get out of control, wonderful things if they are properly directed. But whatever happens, Quebec is going to be changed. That is certain."

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U. S. SURPLUSES

And a Hungry World . . . *by Mordecai Ezekial*

Two factors make this article extraordinarily timely: The presence in American grain elevators and warehouses of unprecedented food surpluses, and the recent European tour of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, who is in search of an agricultural program which will allay the increasing restiveness of the American farmer. The author of the article, one of this country's foremost economists, is on the staff of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), with headquarters in Rome. The views he expresses, however, are his own and are not to be taken as the official views of the FAO.

Rome

THE U. N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) held a meeting here last fall on food and population problems at which great comfort was taken from the fact that world food production had overcome wartime setbacks and was at last increasing as fast as—or even a little faster than—world population. But this easy confidence overlooked two important points: first, food production is very unequally distributed throughout the world; second, food production must continue to increase faster than population over a prolonged period if the world is to be better fed. [The FAO's annual report, published as this article went to press, said that while there is slightly more food available per capita in the world today than before World War II, the average man is eating less.—The Editors.]

Let us look at the first point. The greatest postwar increases in food production have occurred, as a whole, in the countries which were already best fed—North America, Western Europe, Oceania—while in the underfed regions production has been slow to regain prewar levels and in some cases has not yet attained them. Moreover, the best food-producing countries have found it difficult to dispose of what they produce, and after storing large supplies and giving much away free or at reduced prices, they have reluctantly turned—as in both the United States and Cuba—to curtailing production below what their farmers can and would like to grow.

Meanwhile the countries with poorer food supplies—the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and parts of Southern and Eastern Europe—are seeking to increase their production with technical help from the FAO and with technical and financial aid from the United States, the Colombo Plan, and other public or private bodies. But many of these countries have unfavorable growing climates, and most suffer from heavy population pressures on the land. Despite the help offered them, their economic progress is generally disappointingly slow and food production is overtaking population growth at a snail's pace.

We come now to the second point—the necessity for food supplies to increase much more rapidly than population. In many countries the normal diet for most of the people is far below minimum health needs. The average diet of the Indian or Filipino, for instance, is at least one-third poorer in calories than that of the American or West European. But the difference in quality is even greater than in quantity. Contrast the North American diet, rich in milk, vegetables, fruit, cheese, bread, and meat, with that of the Mediterranean peasant who subsists mainly on a few olives and bread twice a day, or perhaps a "pasta" dish with a thin dressing of tomato sauce flavored with a little cheese. Yet the Mediterranean diet (and that of the East European peasant, who subsists largely on black bread, potatoes, and cabbage, with meat eaten only on a few holidays) is by no means the world's worst. The Indian farmer or unskilled worker lives on a little rice or soggy wheat cakes, some beans or millet, and—as a rare treat—a sticky sweet made of flour or milk paste. Equally badly off are the maize and bean farmers of Central America, whose women often nurse their children for two years because there is nothing to wean them on except tortillas, beans, and peppers. It is not surprising that the death rate among children between the ages of two and five in this area is shockingly high. In a similar situation are many tribes of tropical Africa whose children languish and die of "khashiokor," a nutritional disease due solely to lack of proteins.

THE enormous dietary inequalities among the peoples of the world are revealed graphically in the daily per capita consumption of animal proteins. In the United States, Canada, and Northwestern Europe the average consumption is forty-five grams daily; in Southern Europe, twenty grams; in the arid plains of the Near East, fifteen grams. The protein diet is still lower in Central America, India, and much of the Far East; in many parts of tropical Africa it is practically zero. And what is true of animal protein is also true, to a somewhat lesser degree, of the fresh vegetables and fruits necessary for supplying minerals and vitamins.

In the decade since World War II the world has made great economic progress, due in substantial part to American help. But the progress has been much more striking in industry than in agriculture. In its first "World Food Survey" (1946), the FAO calculated that world production of "original calories" in food and feed crops would have to be nearly doubled by 1960 if less well-fed countries were to be brought up to anything like the nutritional level enjoyed by the richer nations. This enormous increase is required because it takes many pounds of grain to produce a pound of cheese, milk, or meat; and meat, because of its large water content, has fewer calories per pound than does the grain fed to produce

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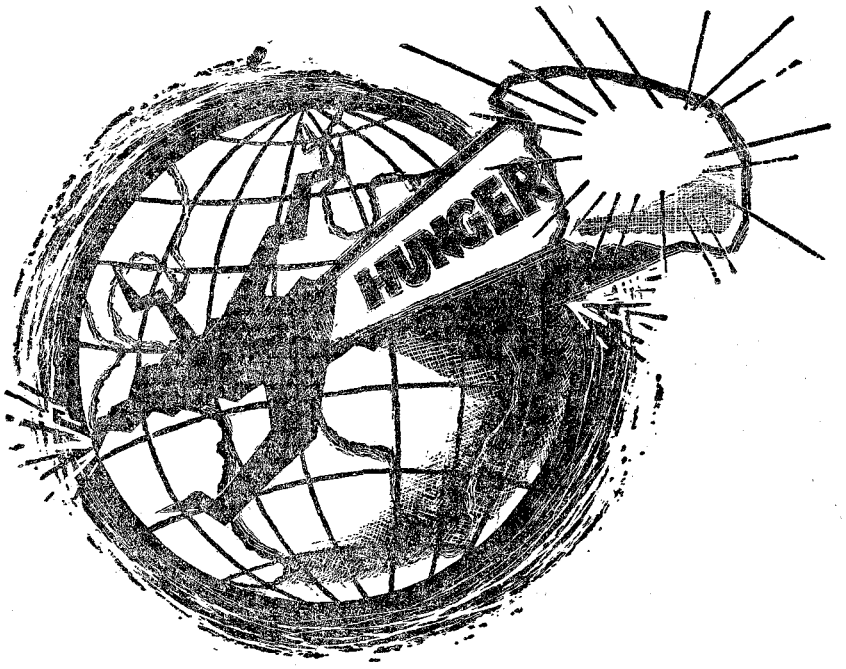
it. FAO's second "World Food Survey" (1952) set more modest targets based on what countries might hope to achieve if reasonably attainable methods were applied to their resources. But even this smaller program called for an expansion of world food production of from 15 to 50 per cent by 1960 in various food categories to establish very moderate improvement in the diet of the "hungry" countries.

Only one-quarter to one-third of the world's peoples now enjoy a dietary sufficiency; the rest live below any adequate standard. That is what makes the whole problem so difficult. Food supplies must increase a great deal faster—say one and a half times faster—than the annual rate of population increase, and maintain this rate for a long period of time, before we can even begin to see the solution.



Two Worlds

BUT increased production is not enough, as is clearly evident in the towering food surpluses of the United States. It is also important that more be consumed. Farmers exchange what they produce for industrial products and services provided by city workers. The underdeveloped countries must produce not only more food but also more industrial goods so that city workers can provide a market for the commercial portion of the expanding agricultural production. And what is true within a national economy is also true internationally. If American ability to produce more food than it is ready to consume is to be utilized, the underdeveloped countries must be enabled to produce the raw materials and finished products with which to buy American surpluses. Only with such expanding markets can we take the wraps off the farmer and alleviate the qualms of conscience we suffer when we deliberately restrict food production in a world where so many are hungry.

Fortunately, possibilities exist in the United States for an expanding and profitable two-way trade with underdeveloped areas. The United States needs to import many minerals, such as copper, mica, lead, bauxite, tin; it imports coffee, cocoa, bananas, cocoanuts, rubber, and many kinds of oils. The underdeveloped countries can produce many handicrafts that find a ready market in the United States: inexpensive knicknacks for five-and-ten counters, Italian gloves and handwoven fabrics, Indian curios, Japanese ornaments, Mexican silver jewelry, and the like. With modern air transport and increasing American incomes, the tourist trade has become an additional and very important means of payment for American exports.

Beyond this direct two-way exchange lie other exciting possibilities, especially for the American farmer who is seeking wider markets for his wheat, milk, pork, and cotton. Except for the Philippines and parts of Latin America, the underdeveloped countries have always looked to Europe as their chief source of heavy industrial goods. The demand for such goods will increase as living standards in the underdeveloped areas rise. But how to pay for the industrial products? Food is and will continue to be Europe's greatest need, but food is precisely what the poorer countries don't have for export.

Before the war this problem was met in part by an active three-way trade between North America, Europe, and the Far East. The Far East shipped rubber, tin, silk, and similar products to the United States; the United States shipped food to Europe; Europe, in turn, shipped industrial products to the Far East. With continued expansion of population and a rise in average levels of real income in North America and Europe, and with rapid agricultural and industrial development in the Far East and other underdeveloped areas, something like this triangular trade may reappear. In addition, the United States might send some foods, such as canned and dried milk, wheat, and other items directly to the underdeveloped countries.

TO achieve these goals, however, the less-developed regions will have to speed up their rate of progress, both in agriculture and industry. In the end, most of the food they need to establish better standards of living and increase working capacity will have to come not from foreign trade but from their own local production. They will have to move at an unprecedented rate just to keep pace with their more fortunate neighbors. Since the war the better-fed countries have been progressing faster than the less well-fed ones, so that the gap between them has been widening rather than narrowing.

Economic development is a slow process involving not only the introduction of modern production methods but the creation of skilled middle and upper classes to direct their use. It requires the creation of a whole fabric of transportation, communication, power, and distribution facilities, the transforming of social and educational institu-

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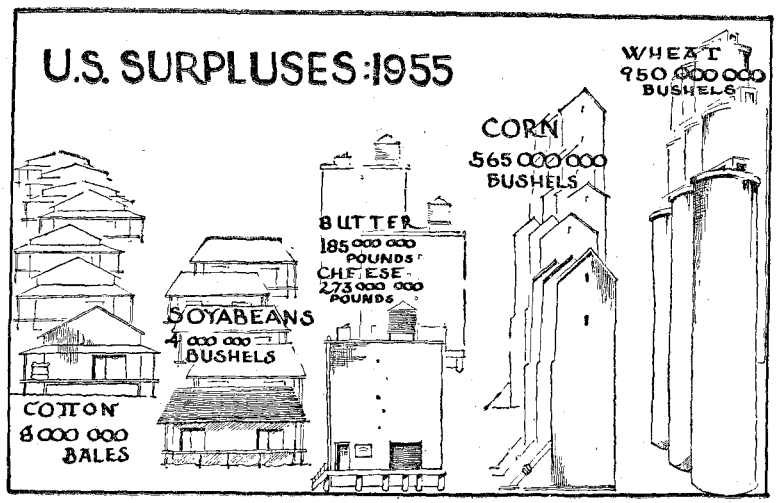

tions, and an overhauling of administrative attitudes and techniques. Child marriages, feudalistic land tenure and fragmented land holdings, antiquated tax systems, widespread illiteracy, and a tradition of corruption among public and private officials still abound in many underdeveloped countries. They can be corrected only by long and diligent effort by public-spirited men and women working under the stimulus of some sort of overall program. While Greece and India have still far to go to achieve real prosperity, both have made rapid postwar progress with the help of American funds and technical guidance and show what can be done under favorable conditions.

THE United States has contributed unprecedented sums to other countries' development both through direct grants and through support of the U. N. Technical Assistance Program and loans made by the International Bank. While these sums, given alike to former allies and former enemies, add up to extremely large totals, they represent a relatively small proportion of the American economy and budget. They could be increased without strain, especially if and when a reduction of defense expenditures becomes possible.

Better living standards for the rest of the world are not the only things at stake. The United States is concerned with political and social as well as economic problems. Even if our military might has finally convinced the East that it is better to seek an accommodation with the West than to run the risk of atomic warfare, the struggle for the allegiance of men's minds is by no means over. Everywhere the common people, roused by prewar promises and tasting the first fruits of better times, are becoming increasingly restive. Colonialism is breaking down and native despotisms are challenged or overthrown. If democracy, private enterprise, and the American way of life are to maintain their hold on men's dreams, help must be forthcoming in the near future for masses of people who are now wavering between alternative political and economic philosophies and who may in desperation succumb to demogogic promises.

An additional one or two billion dollars a year in purely economic aid —sums quite insignificant in relation to America's total budget—could produce an enormous impact on the economic progress of the underdeveloped countries. This is especially true in Asia, where per-capita incomes are so low that progress must remain painfully slow under democratic methods. Investment capital is needed. In some instances, particularly in Latin America, investment programs have been pushed beyond domestic capacity. Overspending and inflation have been the result, while the continued growth of population generates further pressure for more production and more investment.

For the American farmer, a build-up of underdeveloped areas could mean not only greater world markets for his produce but also a partial solution, at least, for the farm-surplus problem. In a pilot study in India recently completed, the FAO has shown that a substantial part of external contributions to capital for additional economic development can successfully be made in the form of surplus farm products. The study showed how this would work in a variety of large and small projects in India. Food "scholarships" could be established to make possible an enlarged vocational-training program for Indian youth; food grants could be given to assist in local community projects such as small irrigation works and the building of schools, sewers, and roads. For larger projects—the development of afforestation and erosion-control facilities, the utilizing of forest resources through the improvement of roads, ports, and wood industries—the food could be sold for cash which would be used in turn to pay wages. In the dairy industry, surplus foods and fodder could be used in several ways. Cash derived from sales could help pay wages, and the fodder would assist in building up the herds of cows and buffalo. Dry skimmed milk could be mixed with whole milk to make the beverage available at a price which more Indians could afford to pay. Since in all these instances, increased supplies would be balanced by increased consumption, the large-scale food "dumping" would have no tendency to depress domestic or international prices.

THE INDIAN studies revealed that utilization of surplus food in this manner would cover from 25 per cent to 75 per cent of the cost of a project, depending upon its nature. The particular projects examined in the report could effectively use nearly $100,000,000 worth of surplus food annually; the food thus made available would cover about 56 per cent of the projects' total cost. In other lands the proportion of cost that could be covered by surplus-food gifts or loans would depend on local conditions and particularly upon the place occupied by food in the workers' budget. The leaner and more expensive the normal diet of the worker, the greater the role that surplus foods can play in the underwriting of constructive development projects.

To make such a program work, the United States and other food-surplus countries would have to make available a wide variety of food

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products over a period of three or four years at least, since most development schemes take at least that long for completion.

But the disposal of our food surpluses is not the only benefit which American farmers could expect from an expanded foreign-aid program. Suppose the United States appropriated one or two billion dollars a year for economic aid to underdeveloped countries, delivering the aid half in cash and half in farm products? Under such a arrangement the surpluses would move first, of course, but soon we would be able to *raise* production goals instead of withholding from use some of the world's best agricultural resources. Economic aid based in part at least on increased production rather than disposal of surpluses would enable recipient countries to rely on future deliveries, a necessary element in long-range planning. This kind of economic-aid program would benefit everyone involved—the recipient, the American farmer, and the American shipping firms that would transport the cargoes in American vessels.

The FAO's Committee on Commodity Problems, after an initial review of the Indian Pilot Study, has requested that all FAO member nations study it in preparation for the organization's plenary sessions in November. In the meantime all surplus-food countries, such as the United States, might well consider what changes in legislation and in administrative procedures might be necessary to enable them to participate in plans for feeding the world's hungry millions at ultimate profit to themselves.

APPLES OF DISCORD

The Pickers Want a Union . . *by Gene Marine*

Sebastopol, California

AT 4:30 on the chilly morning of August 12, union organizer William Grami stepped onto the sidewalk on South Main Street in this tiny northern community, heading for his car. Suddenly a dark Chevrolet appeared and swerved to the curb. The door was flung open, and Grami was sure he saw a pistol in the hand of the man in the back seat.

"Get in," the man ordered.

Grami got in, knelt on the floor as ordered, his head against the floorboards. The car rode on for half an hour, twisting and turning until Grami lost all sense of direction. When it stopped, he was ordered out. "I thought they were trying to kill me," he said later, and once out of the car the stocky, 28-year-old Grami started to fight. But the driver of the car and the man who had been in the back seat overpowered him; a third man remained in the car. Grami's windbreaker was torn off, a gag shoved in his mouth. He was dragged to a telephone pole, and his hands bound around it. There, on a lonely back road six miles north of Sebastopol, Grami was found not long afterward. His shirt had been torn off, his arms slashed, his head bruised from having been beaten against the pole, his back a pulpy mass from a prolonged and vicious beating with a bicycle chain.

THE identity of the three men remains a mystery, but there was no question of the motive. Grami, who studies law and political science at the University of Santa Clara near San Francisco, had come to Sebastopol in the fall of 1954 to lead a Teamsters Union drive to organize the workers in Sebastopol's large apple canneries. It was a tough fight from the beginning, although Grami said, "These canneries are violence. Like other labor struggles across the country, this one has so far been fought more in the courts than in the streets, though nobody is taking any bets on the future tranquility of Sebastopol. The Western Council of Cannery Workers—representing cannery employees in eleven Western states and affiliated with the A. F. of L. Teamsters Union—decided to organize the Sebastopol apple canneries and processing plants last year because, as Grami said "These canneries are the last in the state to be organized. The workers here are underpaid, and the condition hurts our contracts in other canning industries." Grami came here after organization work in Watsonville, a hundred miles south of San Francisco, where he had been employed in the canneries.

After the organizing drive had been under way here for a while, the National Labor Relations Board last October ordered an election among the workers at the Sebastopol Apple Growers Union, an employers' "cooperative." The growers reacted by firing 142 of the workers just before the balloting. The NLRB charged the employers with an unfair labor practice (including a charge that the general manager had threatened an employee with assault for pursuing pro-union activities), and the employers took the NLRB to court. This legal maneuver has caused repeated postponement of the hearing on the unfair-practices charge.

In the meantime, three other elections were ordered. Two have been held with inconclusive results. In each case, the union has charged that the growers made a fair election impossible. Finally the union ordered four of the biggest apple-processing plants struck. Grami was on his way from the union hall to inspect picket lines when he was kidnapped.

The apple growers joined with the California Association of Employers—representing the processors—to get an injunction against the union, restricting picketing and restraining it from trying to get mem-

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bers and railroad workers to refuse to handle the struck plants' products. The union is currently trying to beat down the injunction in court. (An employer request for an injunction to cover an extension of the strike to three more plants was turned down.) Employers have brought contempt charges against three of the union leaders, claiming they attempted to persuade truckers not to handle struck goods. The contempt charges are scheduled for hearing on September 26.

Meanwhile the strike continues, and apples and applesauce are still rolling out. For this last fact, the two sides have different explanations. W. M. Caldwell, head of the California Association of Employers, says applesauce production continues because the people want it that way. "Sebastopol is not ready for the Teamsters," he insists. "The apple business is just too close to the people for them to become restricted in their operations. This town lives and breathes apples." Nobody can argue the last sentence. But the union claims that the town wants a decent wage and decent conditions for the people who process the apples that provide the town's living. "We have 1,200 people who want the Teamsters Union in this area," claimed Pete Andrade, head of the Western Council of Cannery Workers, who flew in from Seattle when the situation became explosive. "We are going to afford them all the protection that a union can give them." As for the continuing production, Grami says: "They've had to recruit school kids from all over the county to fill the canneries." And the union has demanded that the Immigration Service and Labor Department check on the use of Mexican nationals and juveniles as strike-breakers.

When Grami was bound and beaten, the employers promptly disclaimed all responsibility and even

offered a $1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the three attackers. Andrade, however, described the beating as a logical outgrowth of many threats made by employers in the past year. Of the proferred reward, Andrade, veteran of years of Western labor organization work, simply snarled: "An old gimmick."

Caldwell, whose headquarters normally is in San Francisco, has moved the fifty-odd miles north and set up headquarters for the duration of the conflict in the building of the Bank of Sonoma County. Andrade, on the other hand, has taken over direction of the union's effort, and the Teamsters have purchased a one-story concrete-block building on South Main Street.

Upon the purchase, undisclosed persons filed a complaint that union use of the building violated building codes, and an injunction was issued last month forbidding the union to use it for meetings of more than fifty people. However, city officials, determined to remain impartial, worked out a deal with the union whereby the hall could remain in use. A further example of harassment involved a small vinegar plant, employing only eleven workers—all of them union members—which agreed to negotiate with the union. Growers and processors promptly cut off the supply of the peels from which vinegar is made, and the plant remains caught in the middle despite its willingness to deal with its workers.

The growers, their cause obviously injured by public reaction to the Grami beating, have attempted to shift the onus of violence. When a $325,000 fire destroyed an apple-storage plant on August 30, the growers ostentatiously mounted a guard on other struck plants. However, insurance investigators stated that there is no evidence of arson, and that the building has been known as a dangerous fire hazard for at least two years.

The Teamsters—who claim to have the full resources of the huge international union, the world's largest, behind them—have hurt the apple growers to some extent. "As individual American citizens," Andrade points out, "anyone has the right to refuse to handle hot apples. And we're telling this to all union members in the West." Of the four plants struck, only one handles fresh apples; the others produce applesauce and other products. Elmo Martini, general manager of the "cooperative" that handles fresh apples (and the man charged by the NLRB with the assault threat), admits that he is having trouble with his major market—Los Angeles—because "clerks and other workers won't handle them." If the Teamsters really do choose to put their full resources behind the strikers, it won't be difficult to hurt the growers even more. All that is needed is to bombard the public with the simple slogan, "Don't eat applesauce." A full-fledged consumer boycott on a nationwide basis is under way now, and support has been reported from as far away as Montana, Massachusetts, and Montreal. Lists of brand names and leaflets urging consumer support are being circulated as fast as possible.

THE UNION insists that because of the attitude of the growers and processors, the only possible settlement now is an industry-wide one covering the entire Sebastopol area. Caldwell insists that such a settlement is impossible. In the meantime, the lines are sharply drawn. On August 15, twenty additional union officials turned up in Sebastopol to lend strength to the Teamsters' fight. Under-sheriff Andy Johansen has deputies, in pairs, patrolling the back roads at night; he has promised complete neutrality in efforts to keep the peace.

The quiet town of Sebastopol, caught up against its will in the striving of men for something a little better in their lives, waits apprehensively for what the future will bring.

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BOOKS

The Court and the Cold War

THE SUPREME COURT IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. By Robert H. Jackson. Harvard University Press. $2.
NINE MEN. A History of the Supreme Court. By Fred Rodell. Random House. $5.

By Norman Redlich

WHEN, in 1937, the Supreme Court made the historic switch in time that saved nine, and upheld several of the key New Deal laws, many students of the court felt that an issue which had remained unsettled since the founding of the Republic—the proper role of the Supreme Court in American government—had finally been resolved. These two provocative books, one by the late Justice Robert H. Jackson, the other by Professor Fred Rodell of the Yale Law School, demonstrate that the issue is still with us and is likely to intensify as more of the repressive legislation of the cold-war era reaches our highest court.

Justice Jackson was scheduled to set forth these views in the Godkin lectures at Harvard, cancelled by his death in October, 1954. But Jackson had completed several drafts so that we have one of the rare instances in which a Supreme Court justice sets forth his judicial philosophy. The book is a brief restatement of a theme which recurs through much of Jackson's writings—the theme of judicial passivism. He stresses that the judiciary is but one of three equal branches of government and that it has inherent limitations, such as an inability to enforce its own decisions. It must wait for a case to reach it and cannot instigate actions on its own. With due allowance for the rigged "controversies" which are frequently created to test political issues before the court, few would disagree with Justice Jackson when he says, in effect, that a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States is neither a President nor a Congressman.

But Justice Jackson enters the heated realm of controversy when he asserts that in those areas where justices do have a choice they should, in most instances, defer to the judgment of legislators and administrators. This blunt summation of Justice Jackson's views is perhaps an oversimplification of thoughts, which, in this book, assume varied legal and philosophical forms. He would have Supreme Court justices avoid "political" issues. Legislatures and societal influences, rather than courts, should be the principal guardians of civil liberties. The federal government should refrain from policing the court systems of the states. Elected representatives know better than judges what the people want. These beliefs, however rephrased, add up to a strong statement of the credo of judicial self-restraint, of which Justice Jackson, when he wanted to, could be the court's most eloquent spokesman.

IT WOULD be easy, and unfair, to criticize Jackson's belief in this credo by demonstrating the many instances in which he, himself, departed from it. Supreme Court justices are called upon to decide cases involving complex political, legal, and social issues. They frequently walk in shadowy and uncharted areas where two legitimate claims are in conflict. Complete consistency is impossible. Thus, Justice Jackson frequently, and unpredictably, abandoned judicial self-restraint to overrule a legislative or administrative act. When he did, as in the famous flag-salute case, he could be a most eloquent defender of the liberties guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

The significance of this philosophy of judicial abdication is the insight it provides into the reasons why the judicial victory which the liberals thought they had won in the 1930's resulted in tragic judicial defeats two decades later. In his writings and speeches as Attorney General, Robert Jackson was Franklin Roosevelt's intellectual lieutenant in the frontal attack waged against the Nine Old Men. He was judicial liberalism personified, 1937 style. Regrettably, he also typified the failure of that type of judicial liberalism to meet the challenge of the cold war. Under the banner of judicial self-restraint Jackson and others like him had contended correctly that the courts should not interfere with legislatures in their attempt to solve economic and social problems. When called upon to solve different problems in different ways, Jackson brushed aside the doctrine espoused by Holmes and Stone, that civil liberties deserve special protection in our society. He found it easier to cling to the doctrine of self-restraint and conclude that Congress, which had the power to meet a labor-management crisis by passing the Wagner Act, could meet the threat of communism by passing the Smith Act—even in flagrant disregard of the First Amendment. In the majority of instances, Jackson would ask only whether government action was directed toward a legitimate end, such as waging war, raising taxes, preventing rebellion, or guarding school children from subversion. If the end was not explicitly condemned by the Constitution, Jackson would usually uphold the means lest he be unfaithful to the credo he had espoused in the court-packing fight. Thus, a talent which could have stirred people to defend the Bill of Rights, was too often heard asking protesting liberals, "Where, in the Constitution, does it state that a government cannot protect itself against its enemies?" Having asked the wrong question, in terms of this decade's Constitutional issues, it is not surprising that Jackson too often came up with the wrong answers.

IN CONTRAST to the judicial passivism of Justice Jackson is Fred Rodell's concept of the Supreme Court as a purely political institution. A caustic, sharp-witted writer, Fred Rodell is at his best when destroying myths, and no better target exists for a myth-destroyer than the Supreme Court. To those who might still think that the Supreme Court is, ever was, or should be, an august judicial body removed from political passions and applying recognized precedents to current cases, Fred Rodell's book will be a salutary experience. Rodell disrobes the judges and

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moves them from their marble sanctuary into broad daylight where they can be seen as members of a political institution rendering judgments on issues every bit as political as those decided by legislatures. Ever since George Washington's first appointments, Presidents have based their judicial choices on the political views of prospective jurists. There have always been sharp differences among the justices. There have been frequent attempts at court packing. Justices have been avowed candidates for Presidential nomination, have been active campaigners for other candidates, and have even run for office without resigning the bench. Anyone who thinks that the court is more political today than it was in the "good old days" doesn't know his Supreme Court history.

IN contrast to Jackson's protestations about what the court cannot do, Rodell demonstrates its immense powers. It can declare acts of Congress and the states unconstitutional, or can interpret them out of existence. It can stay the hand of a President, or arouse the ire of great areas of the country by outlawing a pattern of racial segregation. History would sustain Rodell's version of the court rather than Jackson's. For the very decision to restrain oneself, a decision Jackson would have the court make more often, is itself the exercise of political power.

Having established that it is a political institution, Professor Rodell outlines a political history of the Supreme Court. Here the very premise upon which he operates makes success impossible. If the court is essentially a political institution and its judges ordinary mortals, a proper evaluation of its history must take into account the political issues which have swirled around the court since its founding, and should also provide fairly complete analysis of the individual justices. To accomplish this task within the confines of one short book would have been impossible. Only by dividing the justices into heroes and villains, and by reducing decades of history to a few simple issues can Rodell achieve even the semblance of historical narrative.

Justice John Marshall, one of the book's heroes because he used the law "to achieve the goals he was after," is explained as a man whose one interest was preserving private property. All of Marshall's writings defending the power of a strong central government are viewed as mere rhetoric, an excuse for the protection of private property. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney is described simply as a spokesman for the "Old South." From the Civil War to the court revolution of 1937, the Supreme Court is pictured as representing the vested interests by squelching the aspirations of the common people over the protests of Justices Samuel Miller, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Louis Brandeis.

Although there is historical truth in these generalizations, history is not so simple. Fred Rodell is too ready to assume a complete lack of intellectual integrity on the part of certain justices. However, this technique can be a double-edged sword. If Justice Marshall really cared only about private property and used the doctrine of a strong government as a legal decoy, why not say that Justice Holmes actually favored the social legislation he voted to uphold, even though he couched his opinions in terms of the doctrine of judicial self-restraint? Or, to take Rodell's current hero, it would be possible to say that Justice Douglas is sympathetic to communism because, when faced with the civil-liberties claims of Japanese-Americans or General Yamashita, he did not demonstrate the passionate concern for human liberty that has marked his decisions in recent years. Sincere men can be subjected to varying pressures and are motivated by numerous factors. To attribute a person's conduct solely to any one of them is a dangerous business.

Rodell's historical narrative improves as it approaches the present. His description of the battle of 1937 is excellent and his analysis of the discords in the New Deal court helps explain a puzzling period in the court's history. Here the justices lose their two-dimensional quality and become real persons. A serious attempt is made to understand and explain their differences.

In condemning the sorry record of the Vinson court in civil-liberties cases, however, Rodell fails to come to grips with an important question that underlies this unfortunate era. Why did a court composed entirely of appointees of liberal Presidents disintegrate under the pressures of the cold war? To have answered this question would have made villains out of some of Rodell's heroes. It would, furthermore, have exposed the serious gap in Rodell's analysis. It is not enough to say the court is a political institution like a legislature or an executive agency. Roosevelt viewed it as a political institution when he appointed Black, Reed, Frankfurter, Douglas, and Jackson to uphold New Deal legislation. Truman viewed the Supreme Court in a political light when he appointed Fred Vinson to perform the political job of healing an embarrassing breach among the justices. The Roosevelt-Truman method failed in most instances because judges were appointed for a short-run political job instead of for the long pull that is a justice's career.

OF WHAT political stuff is the great judicial statesman made? Rodell says he should be "a direct, plain-spoken politician, who knows that his is primarily a political job." He should "combine humanity and honesty." If this is the criteria, no wonder the liberals failed so miserably. Where in this definition is the intellectual stature and integrity, the fierce devotion to human liberty, and the ability to withstand the overwhelming pressures on individual freedom generated by a divided world? Of this stern and noble stuff are great justices made. The American people, and liberals in particular, have paid dearly for the failure of two Democratic Presidents to understand the proper role of the Supreme Court in the American system of government.

COMING

"The Restoration of Learning"
By Arthur Bestor
Reviewed by Harold Taylor

"Band of Angels"
By Robert Penn Warren
Reviewed by Maxwell Geismar

"Collected Poems, 1955"
By Robert Graves
Reviewed by John Ciardi

"Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man"
By Thomas Mann
Reviewed by Carlos Baker

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An Honest Autobiography

IT'S ME O LORD. The Autobiography of Rockwell Kent. Dodd, Mead and Company. $10.

By Elizabeth McCausland

AT SEVENTY-THREE Rockwell Kent presents his self-portrait. Into those seventy-three years the well-known American engraver-lithographer-painter-illustrator-writer-lecturer has crowded many other occupations: working as a lobster fisherman and carpenter on the coast of Maine, as a ship's carpenter at sea, and farming at Au Sable Forks, New York. He has written and illustrated at least half a dozen books, as well as illustrating many classics such as "Candide" and "Leaves of Grass." He has lived, loved, worked, and explored in Labrador, Alaska, Greenland, and Tierra del Fuego. Any one of these activities could be a life's work, but Kent has found time and energy to champion liberal causes in art and in society, even when these were unpopular. So energetic and vocal has Kent been in all these fields that his artistic achievement has often been overshadowed; but his autobiography suggests that he would prefer to be judged as an artist. For its "ninety-six new drawings; 170 reproductions of the artist's best drawings of the past; photographic reproductions of paintings; [and] eight reproductions of paintings in full color" hold up the mirror to Kent the artist.

The cold, sometimes mechanical line of Kent's book and advertising illustration is the quality which lays him open to challenge. Critics write favorably of landscapes he painted in Maine, Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Berkshires almost half a century ago, but disparage such graphic work as "This Is My Own." However it should be remembered that Kent was educated as an architect. He later studied painting with William Merritt Chase and Robert Henri; but it is the mark of Henri rather than of Chase which makes his early oils human and active. In the 1900's and the teens Kent was allied with movements of esthetic protest like The Eight and the Society of Independent Artists; and here he found further motivation for a kind of humanist realism. But when he turned to the graphic arts, his architectural training asserted itself. Even as Philibert Delorme lectured the good architect and the bad architect in engravings not unlike architectural elevations, so Kent rotated the linear idiom of the ground plan into the vertical plane. This is an explanation, however, of but one phase of Kent as an artist. To understand the man and his work it is necessary to read the 617 pages of text and scrutinize the more than 300 illustrations in "It's Me O Lord."

The autobiography is probably the most difficult literary form. It may be a fabricated facade, or it may be a revelation spoken as if in a dream. The latter kind has to be searched for names, dates, places, facts, and even sometimes for feelings and thoughts. In a way Kent's is reminiscent of Gertrude Stein's. The title seems to bear no relation to the subject portrayed, and "The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas" is of course *not* the autobiography of Miss Toklas. Why Kent should be "standing in the need of prayer" is not evident. Like Stein, Kent makes it hard for the reader to follow the space-time continuum in which a person's life inescapably evolves. For the most part the graphic illustrations are uncaptioned and unsourced; and captions for the oils do not give the dates when painted. There is no list of illustrations, nor is there an index. A serious mistake, in the reviewer's opinion, is turning the color plates sidewise. Incidentally in the count quoted from the jacket, is the word "drawings" correct? Most of the line cuts have the appearance of lithographs or engravings.

Despite these objections, Kent has produced a creditable self-portrait. One gets the "feel" of the man—his aggressive assertion of personality, his abounding energy, his determination to defend that which he believes to be worthy of defense, his stubborn resistance to unwarranted violation of the areas of conscience, his outward-goingness, his generous enthusiasm for the underprivileged. Besides that, one gets a source from the illustrations for a better judgment of the strengths and the weaknesses of his work. It is evident that Kent has learned not only from his early twentieth-century American teachers but also from masters of the past, notably Blake. Since a memoir is not an encyclopedia, the lacks pointed out are outweighed by positive values, such as sincerity. For Kent's is the second kind of autobiography, the honest kind.

ELIZABETH McCAUSLAND is a well-known art critic and historian specializing in the field of American art.

A Mythological Detective

THE GREEK MYTHS. By Robert Graves. Penguin Books. Two volumes, 95 cents each.

By Moses Hadas

BEGINNING with the classical Greeks themselves, sophisticated observers have been puzzled by the anomaly of an intelligent and sensitive people revering a mythology that seems puerile and brutal and scabrous. From the Homeric poems onward, literature sought to refine crudities by sublimating and harmonizing, or, in desperate cases, pretending that they did not exist or inventing allegorical explanations. Our earliest literary texts, indeed, are likely to give the most refined version, and the primitive myth must then be enucleated from some obscure phrase in a commentator or divined from the disguised version on the basis of analogy with the support of archaeology, anthropology, and psychology. And since the adherents of these ancillary disciplines are by no means at one on the relative significance of their several factors there is likely to be little agreement on the original forms of the myths and less on their interpretation.

Because a reference work should present an acknowledged consensus we have had no modern comprehensive and adult presentation of Greek mythology. Nor is it likely that a scholar with professional responsibilities and loyalties who pos-

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sesses the essential philological equipment will feel sufficiently competent in the less definitely charted areas to venture such a work. But in the nature of the case, and in the experience of the naive generations for whom they were merely esthetic formulations of edifying fables, the myths can be quickened into meaningful life only by imagination; all that we can ask is that the imagination be informed and controlled by scholarship. Here it would be hard to name Mr. Graves's rival. The range of his learning compels respectful attention to his hypotheses; all we need do is distinguish one from the other.

This the arrangement of his book makes easy. Each of its 171 sections is divided into three parts: (1) a narrative of the myth, divided into lettered paragraphs for easy reference; (2) documentation from ancient sources (very few modern works are mentioned, and there is little polemic); and (3) Graves's own interpretation, clearly indicated as such typographically, also divided into numbered paragraphs. Only rarely is the narrative in the first part slanted to provide a text for Graves's favored interpretation.

WITH A regularity that may invite suspicion Graves explains his myths as reflections of the change from matriarchal to patriarchal organization of society combined with the vegetation cycle involving king, tanist, and surrogate, with the periodic killing, real or simulated, of the old king by various specified means. Back of the change are folk migrations and the concomitant emergence or suppression of deities. The elements in this hypothesis are not new; for the matriarchate we have long had Bachofen and Briffault, and for the vegetation cycle Frazer, Jane Harrison, and their followers. What is unusual is the consistency and the ingenuity with which Graves applies his formula. If sleight-of-hand is employed it is less obtrusive and hence more plausible than the acrobatics of the Jung-Kerenyi school, which is equally consistent in assimilating all myths to archetypes of the collective unconscious. The one comfort the psychological school affords, that of making all mankind a cosier group, Mr. Graves does also by invoking parallels, with the Semitic Near East, where he posits origins, and the Germanic North, where he suggests influences.

A sound premise in Mr. Graves's interpretation is that the language of myth, properly understood, is as explicit as our own rational language; it is to be read, not exploited as a text for subjective elaboration, and the ancients themselves were frequently unable to read it. This principle, again, is not peculiar to Graves; what is striking is the extensive use he makes (as he did also in "The Nazarene Gospel Restored") of the parallel hypothesis that works of plastic art were similarly misread. A specific disharmonious myth, he will suggest, rests on a misreading of a painting or sculpture; on the basis of the misreading he reconstructs the picture and then interprets it according to his conviction.

As ingenious detective work, then, Mr. Graves's book makes absorbing reading. But even if we rate much of the fine type in this book, as we prudently should, no higher than virtuoso ingenuity, we must still be grateful to Mr. Graves for his solid and systematic larger type, and to his publishers for putting his book within everyone's reach.

Selected New Books

Poetry

POETS OF TODAY II. Poems by Norma Farber, Robert Pack, and Louis Simpson. Edited with an introduction by John Hall Wheelock. Scribner's. $3.50. The most exciting new series in poetry publishing: three first books in one binding affectionately and discriminatingly edited. All the poets presented earn their praises, but comparison being as inevitable as it is odious, Louis Simpson, in my reading, clearly sings his way ahead of his cellmates to end up with probably the best first book of the year.

THE PRECISIONS. By Cid Corman. Sparrow Press. No price listed. Corman's modest pamphlet (sixteen poems) earns its title, and probably earns him another as best-least-known-poet now writing. A real assurance working. Corman waves away the strict forms of the tradition, but only to hold more faithfully to the strict form of things. Rare when it happens, but it happens here. (Sparrow Press, not listed in "Publisher's Annual," is at 111-13 38th Avenue, Corona 68, N. Y.)

THE NIGHTFISHING. By W. S. Graham. Grove. $2.50. Graham's introspective roam on a night-sea of images is tuned to fine ear. I stumble now and then when the poet's frame of imagery fails him, forcing him to come out of the poem to assert his meaning rather than letting it happen inside, and I stumble, too, over the schooling of some of the phrases; but these cavils aside, a motion happens, and I find myself waiting a chance to reread.

POETRY AND CIVILIZATION. By George Frisbie Whicher. Published for Amherst College by Cornell University Press. $2.50. Selected essays and speeches by a master humanist. Professor Whicher was that reading and asking man of spirit that collegiate generations honor themselves in revering. Essential reading for every member of every faculty, for every student who wonders what a college is for, and for every other who values mind in its graces.

LOVE POEMS. By Gloria Vanderbilt. World. $2.50. A "diary of feelings," probably intensely felt but slack in the making: a difference between self-expression and the re-created thing.

FIGURES FROM A DOUBLE WORLD. By Thomas McGrath. Swallow. $2.75. Winner of the Swallow Poetry Book Award for 1954, McGrath is a poet declaredly of the left, who starts by making all the mistakes of proletarian satire in the first section of poems here presented, but with a difference that begins to find real rewards in the later more personal poems. Too many bosh adjectives throughout, but an ear, an eye, and a feeling for the language moving that make me wish McGrath would unload his damned pamphlets and come home to some personal dying.

I LAUGH THROUGH TEARS. The Ballads of Francois Villon. Edited and Translated by G. P. Cuttino. (No French text.) Philosophical Library. $3.50. Mr. Cuttino's prefatory arrogance toward "Rosetti, Swinburne, and their ilk" set my teeth a bit, but the translations win. I am not exactly left slack-jawed with admiration, but respectful and well rewarded. Mr. Cuttino moves gracefully through the heavy demands of the rhyme and manages an English that does nice justice to both the tavern slang and the university.

JOHN CIARDI

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Books in Brief

Arctic Adventures

MEN FROM THE SEA. By K. M. Wallenius. Translated from the Finnish by Alan Blair. Oxford. $4.

To these five adventure tales of the Arctic seas K. M. Wallenius, a retired general of the Finnish army, brings superior skills of story-telling, characterization, and poetic feeling. His whalers, sealers, skippers, and the men and women of the fishing villages among the fiords, emerge through their stirring adventures as real, individualized persons. Their struggles against the harsh elements on sea and land have developed in them a fatalistic philosophy which accepts death as a commonplace companion of daily life. Each of these stories is a small masterpiece of vivid narration and drama, involving battles in which human beings put up a valiant fight against nature at its grimmest, with all the odds against them.

Mankind on Trial

NINE RIVERS FROM JORDAN. By Denis Johnston. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $5.

An Irishman, who has been a lawyer, writer of two acclaimed plays, B. B. C. news broadcaster, and now English professor at Mount Holyoke College, brings his native wit and imagination and trained judgment to this remarkable account of experiences, both factual and subjective, in the last world war.

As correspondent for B. B. C. he covered the North Africa, Italy, and German campaigns. His straight reporting is vivid and hardboiled, his very personal reactions sensitive and satiric. But all his cynicism, criticisms, and doubts fall away before his view of the horrors of Buchenwald which he is shown just after its abandonment by the Germans. Then he realizes at last just what the war has been all about and that there is a definite right and wrong in life.

But even after this emotional and spiritual catharsis his intellectual honesty forces him to a further evaluation. In one of the final chapters almost every person and episode he has encountered throughout the war come together in a brilliantly conceived play-fantasy. The entire human race is brought to trial and found guilty of a suppressed death-wish which accounts for all the inanities, confusions, and horrors of the war. The judge wisely refuses to pass sentence, knowing that humanity can confidently be left to find ways of destroying itself.

At the very end the reporter describes his own death. It is the only logical denouement, as he explains in a preface which he inserts two-thirds through the book because, as he says very sensibly, a reader cannot be expected to understand a preface before he knows a great deal about the book.

There may be a trace of pedantry in the chapter headings, classical allusions, and naming after the Greek muses the nine rivers he crosses during the campaigns. But there is complete honesty in his reporting of factual events and his emotional reactions to them—and a great deal of outstanding imaginative writing.

A Great Crusader

HENRY GEORGE. By Charles Albro Barker. Oxford. $9.50.

This long biography contributes important facts and insights to an understanding of the anti-monopoly tradition in American politics. Although Henry George is now known almost exclusively for his chief book, "Progress and Poverty,' and for his advocacy of the single tax on land, Professor Barker also shows his significance in other respects. George was an ardent advocate of free trade; he was a leading champion of the Australian ballot; he spoke for public ownership of natural monopolies; he made a magnificent campaign for mayor of New York on a labor ticket in 1886.

Henry George's ideas on land rent did affect tax policies in many American cities, and his influence was perhaps even greater in Australia and England than here. But his main significance was as a crusader against social evils, and the roots of his crusade were moral ones: Christian egalitarianism, and Jefferson's natural-rights philosophy.

George's career is described at full-length in Barker's book, which is based on a staggering amount of research. The clarity of presentation goes a long way to atone for the general drabness of style.

How free are Russian writers?

Many words have flown from the Russian pen since the Revolution in 1917, and much controversy has raged in Britain as to the influences that surround the Soviet writer.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

NO WONDER there are so many fantasies about the authorship of the most beautiful plays in the English language. Impossible that a single Shakespeare could have written all those masterpieces. It must have been the intellectual giant Bacon, or the brilliant Earl of Oxford, or the fabulous Marlowe. When Shakespeare is done in a manner that makes each scene intelligible and permits one to hear the torrent of words as part of a human action, one is led to marvel and conjecture about the magnitude of such genius. No one man could have created all these riches: it must have been a committee.

Let others cavil at the Brattle Shakespeare Players' production of "Othello" (City Center). The cast reveals no exceptional players—they are almost all young, able, devoted, and intelligent—but the line of the play is so well articulated that a sense of what the play means to communicate is rendered. We should be grateful for this: I have seen more elaborate productions with acclaimed actors in which there were greater effects but less play.

"Othello" is Shakespeare's tragedy of sensuality. The chief fault of the Brattle production is that it misses this crucial element of Othello's character. Here, as in most productions of this play, the emphasis is largely on Othello's "nobility," which is mainly the mark of his simplicity and massive forthrightness. Othello is not noble in any truly moral sense: he is demonically possessed by that sort of fierce lust which always contains within it the seeds of destruction, a violence of passion that must ultimately consume and shatter both the lover and the beloved.

A psychologist has recently described love as the ability to connect oneself with a second person in a unit which still preserves the integrity of both partners. It is a sound definition. It explains why love is so rare and why the capacity to achieve is one of the human goals most difficult to attain. But amorous passion by itself—and this too is not as common as we suppose—can never be altogether satisfied. While it rages, it must create chaos in the person who experiences it, as well as ravage and annihilate the person who is its object. For what passion tends toward is the elimination of both the selves involved in the mating. That is why Tristan and Isolde must dissolve in a love-death, and Othello, who at the play's peak speaks of "that whiter skin of hers than snow/And smooth as monumental alabaster" must do away with both Desdemona and himself. "I kissed thee ere I killed thee: no way but this,/Killing myself, to die upon a kiss." That is what he (and Shakespeare) mean when they speak of "one that loved not wisely but too well."

The play is not so much about jealousy—as such it might be considered trite—it is the tragedy of the flaw within love as sheer desire. Othello needs his jealousy; he needs it, so to speak, to fulfill his passion, needs it, in fact, to make it reach its highest point of ecstasy.

BECAUSE of this theme and the agonized violence of Shakespeare's expression of it, Othello is a part very few actors have succeeded in portraying successfully. That is why the flashier part of Iago, which requires mere skill and personality, is usually sought by stars and applauded by audiences. The part of Othello is so physically and emotionally demanding that Stanislavsky once said no actor could do it justice more than twice a week—very few have been able to play it at all. I have seen only one actor who approached a realization of the part, and he was aided by the support of Verdi's music.

I shall not discuss the detail of the performance at the City Center. I will only repeat that since the performance succeeded in making me think of the play's theme—usually in the production of Shakespeare's plays, I take the theme for granted, which means I do not think of it at all—I was stirred by it and elated to

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have some contact with its greatness.

"Catch a Star" (Plyhouth Theater) is a modest musical revue, and, as someone said in another connection, it has a lot to be modest about. It offers four or five entertaining numbers and some talented performers: Elaine Dunn as dancer, Helen Halpin as crooner, Pat Carroll as comic. Indeed, what kept flashing across my mind as I watched the show was the fact that the American theatrical profession numbers so many gifted people: the combination of good looks, ability to put over a song and to dance with fresh energy, eagerness of spirit, and muscular fun is more frequent on our stage than on any other. What these people need to extend their talent and make it flower is a culture in which to function. We might then have some real theaters rather than a series of shaky show windows.

Films

Robert Hatch

IN A picture soon to be released there is said to be a moment of drama so exquisitely intense that for the duration of the episode—some four or five minutes— musical accompaniment is to be suspended. The studio making this announcement apparently feels that the innovation is daring and so *outre* that an unprepared public might fail to grasp the artistic intention and complain of faulty engineering. I wish that some producer would now have the boldness to drop the symphonic background entirely, even if a standby orchestra had to be paid to keep Mr. Petrillo tranquil.

Modern pictures carry music on the sound track because their forerunners had no sound track. It was thought that the atmosphere of a dead silent theater was not festive, so a piano or other more elaborate music was provided to give the ears something to do while the eyes scanned the subtitles, and incidentally to cover the whir of the projector and the rustle of candy wrappers. It may have been a proper solution to the screen's vexing dumbness. I recall silent movies at camp that were accompanied by no sound except the laughs, cheers, and strangled cries of the campers, and they were vivid beyond anything I saw in those years at conventional theaters with conventional mood music. But these treats were festive by long anticipation and the audience boiled as soon as the light went out. In any case, music on the sound track is as clearly an anachronism as the buggy-whip sockets that were installed in the earliest automobiles.

It is more than an anachronism, though; it is a real disfigurement of the movies as a form of art or a means of entertainment. The screen is cousin to the stage. It has its own genius (actually, it has a more particular genius than Hollywood, devoting its major energy to "adapting" from Broadway, is willing to recognize); nevertheless it too is engaged in arresting our attention with selected and selective fragments of experience. Music in its own right is an expression of experience, but it is not used in its own right when it drones along behind some picture that was conceived and executed entirely in non-lyric terms. No sane theater producer would suggest that "Death of a Salesman" or "The Shrike" or "Julius Caesar" should be performed before such a background, but when these plays are moved to the screen—meticulously decked out with the bits of verisimilitude that the camera makes possible—a score is provided and everyone loves and suffers, triumphs and dies to music.

In one way—a bad way—the orchestration makes the job easier for directors and actors. If the heroine has no passion in her heart or in her voice, violins filling in behind her can raise the pitch as she plods through her lines. If a moment of suspense has failed to reach its calculated tension, oboes and a staccato beat in the bass will do much to make the audience crane forward. But this is encouraging actors to be incompetent and debases the movies even as an industry.

Movie music is rarely music in any real sense, but has a quality of its own. The men who write it try to fit their notes and phrases to the galloping of hoofs, the lingering kiss, the death, and the lifted mortgage. But above all they struggle with the problem of keeping an orchestra at work on some kind of intelligible sound for a stretch of two hours or more without giving them anything to play that would really catch the hearer's attention. So the score for one picture is about as appetizing and arresting as that for another—it is the cream sauce that does as well for chicken or lamb croquettes or cauliflower or the hanging of wallpaper.

Pictures, I think, have more individuality today than they once had. You cannot type them as easily as Westerns, domestic comedies, gang thrillers, or whatever. This does not mean, unfortunately, that there is more inventiveness in the studios; rather that pictures are being borrowed from somewhat more inventive sources. But the music which is poured over them indiscriminately and which encourages the actors to lean back and ride on the tremolo does a good deal to blur the originality that the movie scouts so industriously smell out.

I do not advise a return to the silent screen. Voices should be heard, obviously, and so should music, when it can be used as music and not as an absence of silence. More than that, the movies can use sound with a virtuosity impossible in the theater. All the noises of life—large crashes and the faint clink of glass, city chatter and the chatter of the fields—are available to them. What you hear can be edited as shrewdly as what you see, and for the same narrative and emotional purposes. Of course such sound is used now, but it cannot be used very well when it is carried along in a wash of ambitionless instrumentation.

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ASSEMBLY for JUSTICE for MORTON SOBELL

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8 P.M.

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Letters

(Continued from Inside Cover)

ioned revolution. It is not a question of barricades, of learning to use arms, of preparing for violence and bloodshed. It is a question of intellectual and spiritual apprehension of perplexing tendencies. The few who understand must educate the many who are unequal to the task of facing them. Two generations ago Matthew Arnold called upon the intelligentsia to "educate our masters"—the baffled majority. A similar task is clearly confronting us today. The problems are not getting easier and simpler.We must tackle them bravely and with some confidence in human nature.

VICTOR S. YARROS

La Polla, Calif.

Appreciation from a Soldier

Dear Sirs: Your publication was especially appreciated during my tour of duty in Europe where a conservative Stars and Stripes and the Armed Forces Network were the primary sources of daily news coverage.

JOHN M. ENGEL, JR.

Alexandria, Va.

More on Nixon's "Man to See"

Dear Sirs: Mr. McCall's efforts to defend and win sympathy for Mr Nixon in his letter in the September 3 issue are almost as touching as Mr. Nixon's own earlier efforts in that direction—but, like Mr. Nixon's, they touch the wrong places!

No one, I'm sure, doubts Mr. Nixon's industry in building up Mr. Nixon. But many dangerously misguided men have been equally industrious. Since Mr. Nixon's "man to see" probably is Mr. Nixon, as Mr. McCall says, and he's misguided only by himself, the situation is even less hopeful than Mr. Roper suggested in his article in the July 2 issue. Someone else might be more approachable, and less a victim of what has been called "invincible ignorance."

But the real payoff in the defense was that last line in Mr. McCall's letter: "Let's build up, not tear down!" That certainly has not been Mr. Nixon's practice—with regard to anyone who gets in Mr. Nixon's way.

Chicago, Ill. HELEN BUGBEE.

A Generation of Half-wits?

Dear Sirs: This month an additional 250,000 new students will surge into the high schools of the United States, while our elementary schools will be registering 1,200,000 more pupils than a year ago. Where will they all find the classrooms they will need? Are we going to provide—with or without federal aid—the necessary buildings and equipment for them and the ever-increasing waves of students to follow, or are we going to be caught in the undertow?

Must we rear up a whole new generation of half-trained, half-taught half-wits?

ERNEST W. MANDEVILLE.

Allenhurst, N. J.

Libel Suit Settled

The libel suit instituted by The Nation against The New Leader as the result of a letter which appeared in the March 19, 1951, issue of the New Leader, has been settled on the basis of the following stipulation agreed upon by both sides:

WHEREAS plaintiffs assert that they brought this action because they believed that the matter published and circulated by defendants in the March 19, 1951 issue of The New Leader, which dealt with the views of plaintiff Del Vayo expressed in The Nation, contained improper charges and allegations beyond the area of legitimate discussion and dissemination; and

WHEREAS defendants assert that they published said matter not with the intention of committing an act of defamation but, according to their conception of free journalistic discussion, to express their vigorous objection to the contents of the Del Vayo column in The Nation; and

WHEREAS the parties to the litigation desire to compose the issue that has arisen between them; now

IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED AND AGREED, by and between the parties hereto, that the above-entitled action be and the same hereby is settled and discontinued without costs to any party as against any other party, upon the following terms:

1. Any party hereto may enter an order ex parte providing for the settlement and discontinuance of this action, without costs;

2. The plaintiff The Nation Associates, Inc., and the defendant The New Leader Association, Inc., shall publish the text of this stipulation in their respective periodicals The Nation and The New Leader, in the issue of the week of September 19, 1955.

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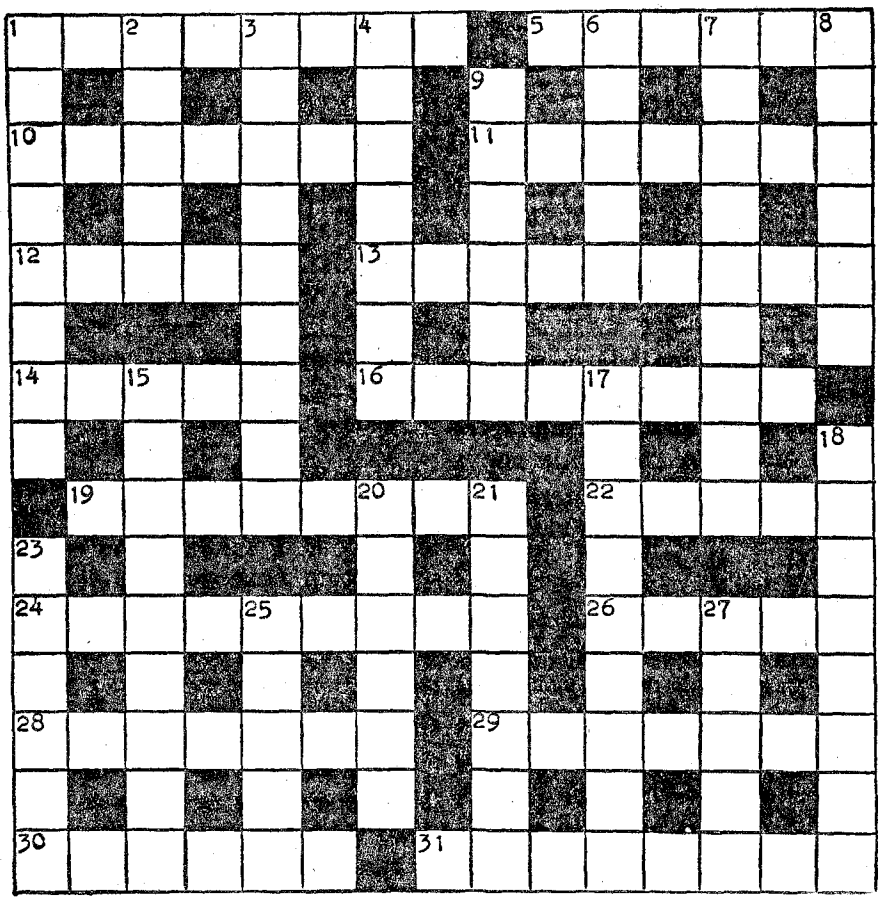
Crossword Puzzle No. 638

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Noise, I conclude, un-tidy, for it bothers some. (8)
5 Two kinds of engine, but the pilot could be lighter. (3,3)
10 and 7 down Heading for town to see the game? (5,2,9)
11 Where to find copper, and a lot of it! (2,5)
12 What a mocker does, perhaps. (5)
13 Their patrons should look well, at any rate. (9)
14 Turning native—or am I? (5)
16 Poe's 27 was this. (8)
19 They might be in bad taste, and in wrong class (8)
22 Beat me in? Little such to be read! (5)
24 Baby Bunting wouldn't have been well covered with this in effect. (9)
26 Let there be light! (5)
28 Scout warning of what's to come? (7)
29 To achieve capital results, sort of spoil the end of it. (7)
30 Evidently the deck has a fancy cut. (6)
31 Human social engagements which make heroes assemble? (8)

DOWN

1 Made by Brodie. (8)
2 In short, the state of egotism. (5)
3 One digit's certainly appreciated, if good. (9)
4 and 25 down (a) Make sure your shoes fit; and (b) Change your socks often. (3-4,5)
6 Hand over the people in the "Recessional"? Like this! (5)
7 See 10 across.
8 To make them is to get religion. (6)
9 The staff is called to bring it out. (6)
15 The fans point first one way and then another thus. (9)
17 Inclined to pull? A slight disturbance would make it freakish. (3-6)
18 Are tents made of this? (8)
20 You might get stuck with this on short notice, and like it. (6)
21 You can probably stay with it. (7)
23 Put forth like our country? (6)
25 See 4 down.
27 Don't forget what you learned by it! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 637

ACROSS: 1 SPEED TRAPS; 10 BARGAIN; 11 PROFFER; 12 POSTMASTERSHIP; 14 CHALOUPE; 15 SCHEME; 16 ENCAMP; 18 STREAMER; 22 SHORTSIGHTEDLY; 24 CORTEGE; 25 ELUSIVE; 26 MISS; 27 ADOLESCENT. DOWN: 1 SUBSPECIES; 2 EURASIA; 3 DIAL M FOR MURDER; 4 RINGS UP; 5 and 6 PEPPERCORN; 7 OFFSIDE; 8 NORM; 9 HORSE CHESTNUTS; 13 DEFRAYMENT; 17 COHORTS; 19 TUGWELL; 20 MIDWIFE; 21 OSTEND; 23 SCUM.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

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